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THE NEW LEAGUE GETS UNDERWAY

By Felix Morley

The first General Assembly of the United Nations was called to order in London on January 10, the 26th anniversary of the inauguration of the old League. When it adjourns, after weeks of stormy but fundamentally constructive sessions, it is not scheduled to meet again until next September, unless convened earlier by emergency.

All of the 51 nations or dependencies which signed the San Francisco Charter on June 26, 1945, were represented at the First Assembly. No new Members were added. UNO is still an organization limited to governments which declared war on the Axis, even though some of the Members, like Argentina and Turkey, did so very late in the day and primarily to secure the advantages of membership.

Thus the neutral States of Eire, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland, all of which are Members of the still unliquidated League of Nations, continue to be excluded from UNO, to say nothing of former Axis associates, like Albania and Finland. The exclusion of Franco Spain was emphasized by a special resolution of ostracism approved by 45 of the Assembly Members on February 9. Three other Members of the old League, pointedly absent from the First Assembly, were the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, now regarded by Russia as constituent Soviet Republics.

On the other hand, UNO, unlike the old League, contains a strong representation of Arab States. Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria are all Members and at the Assembly made their consolidated influence apparent. Russia dominated the Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav delegations, in addition to having separate representation for Byelorussia (White Russia) and the Ukraine, by virtue of one of the secret Yalta agreements. The British Empire bloc was able to depend on Belgian, Danish, Luxembourg and Netherlands support. The United States, in addition to the Philippines, can at present count on the backing of a majority of the 20 Latin-American Republics which

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constitute so large a proportion of Assembly membership.

II

The early crystallization of the bloc system, familiar to all students of the League of Nations and probably inevitable in an organization where governments are the participating units, explains the elections made by the First Assembly.

The most important of these was the initial choice of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, empowered to sit in that very important body together with the five specially privileged permanent members (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States). On January 12, Brazil, Poland and Australia were chosen for two-year terms; Mexico, Egypt and the Netherlands for a single year on the Council. Thus each of the four presently discernible blocs (American, British, Russian, Arab) secured representation on the Council. Whether the Latin-American Republics remain under United States leadership, or form their own influential bloc as they did at Geneva, is a question which the quality of our diplomacy south of the Rio Grande will do much to answer.

In the elections to the Council the Russian delegation sponsored Norway, in opposition to the Netherlands, and it was partly because of the Soviet defeat here that the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygve Lie, was on February 1 chosen as the first Secretary-General of UNO. The Anglo-American candidate for this vital position was Lester Pearson, Canadian Ambassador to Washington, but he was dropped when the Russians threatened to use their veto power against him.

While the Russian tactics during the First Assembly were not always politically adroit, the election of Lie was brilliantly maneuvered from Moscow. He was first proposed by Russia for the wholly unimportant post of President of the Assembly -- merely the temporary presiding officer for the session now closed. The British, whose suspicions of Russia are becoming pronounced, put up Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium in opposition. When Lie was defeated by Spaak, and when the Netherlands was elected over Norway for a one-year term on the Security Council, the Russians would have had a case for threatening use of the veto had Lie not been made Secretary-General, the more so as he was something of a compromise from their viewpoint.

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So the United States will apparently provide the administrative seat of UNO while Russian influence will count heavily in naming the administrators.

III

Political issues of great importance were injected into the initial sessions of UNO, though it had been the hope of the Preparatory Commission that organization might be completed, and the staff appointed, before the fledgling institution was called upon to confront major difficulties.

In spite of a change of administration, bringing a Premier characterized as pro-Russian to the helm in Iran, that Government insisted on submitting its case against Russian interference in Iranian Azerbaijan to the newly-established Security Council. The issue was accepted over the strong protest of Andrei Vishinsky, the chief Russian delegate, thus establishing the important precedent that the complaint of a member-Government must receive a hearing, even if it is opposed by one of the Council members possessing the veto power. The Argentine delegation showed itself particularly interested in the establishment of this precedent.

Though less protective of Iranian sovereignty than some had hoped, the Council resolution adopted on January 30 nevertheless further emphasized the authority of UNO as a whole in respect to even the most powerful of its Members. While settlement of the dispute by direct Russian-Iranian negotiations was approved, "The Council in the meanwhile reserves the right to request information on the progress of the negotiations".

Before this settlement, in an obvious application of the "you're another" argument, the Russian and Ukrainian delegations requested the Council to investigate British policies in Greece and Indonesia respectively. In the former instance the Russians requested that the Council recommend the "immediate and unconditional" removal of British troops. During the sharp debate with Mr. Vishinsky on this issue, Foreign Minister Bevin charged that:

> "The danger to the peace of the world has been the incessant propaganda from Moscow against the British Commonwealth and the incessant utilization of the Communist parties in every country in the world as a means to attack the British people and the British Government, as if no friendship between us existed. . . . It is this suspicion which . . . makes one wonder what is the move behind it."

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Obviously taken aback by the stern nature of the British rebuttal, the Russians agreed to compromise on the Greek issue. The Russian attacks on British Imperialism are kept on the Council records, but the demand that British troops evacuate Greece forthwith is dropped. As this number goes to press, the Indonesian matter is still unsolved.

IV

Viewed as a whole, the First Assembly of UNO must be characterized as very successful. Paradoxically, this conclusion is possible in part because the London sessions showed that the United Nations are now far from being united.

Realization of the profound underlying antagonism is the first necessity of successful organization including both the Anglo-Saxon democracies and the developing league of Communist and quasi-Communist dictatorships. The existence of this cleavage has been concealed from the American people by one of the most extraordinary campaigns of deception ever attempted. Eventually, in spite of "liberal" opposition, the truth was sure to begin to emerge through the fog of propaganda spread by the fellow-travellers. The change took place during the First Assembly.

Another accomplishment of UNO is the substitution of open discussion for the hole-and-corner wartime secrecies of three men, which may have expedited military victory but has also unquestionably weakened democratic principles. With some measure of return to "Open Covenants, Openly Arrived At", there is at last some chance of actually attaining a people's peace.

Most notable in the good start made by UNO is the fact that League of Nations' techniques, operated by men trained in the League tradition, finally began to force the honest and forthright consideration of some of the issues which divide the Democratic and the Communist way of life.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. III - No. 7

By Frank C. Hanighen February 13, 1946

The tribulations of Truman increase so rapidly that one fact, of no little significance, both nationally and internationally, has escaped the notice of many commentators. Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace has given his backing to an American Labor Party candidate in a New York by-election to be held February 19. Mr. Wallace's letter of endorsement was published in the Daily Worker on February 7. At the same time, President Truman is backing the Democratic Party's candidate, ALP's principal competitor in this election. Thus, a member of the Cabinet is publicly at odds with his President, in a field that matters most to Mr. Truman -- party politics.

This open breach underlines the growing conflict between the President and the Democratic Left Wing, of which Mr. Wallace is regarded as the leader. Of additional importance is the fact that the Michigan PAC has officially abandoned the Democratic Party, attacking Truman and praising Wallace. Finally, the resignation of Secretary of the Interior Ickes, also of the Left Wing, hardly lessens this conflict.

On the international plane, the Wallace episode means that the Democratic Left has moved a perceptible distance towards collaboration with the Communist International. For the ALP follows every quirk in the Moscow "line". We may expect augmented pressure from these radical elements in the Democratic Party against any American moves to check Russian expansion; against cooperation with Britain; etc.

Indeed, it is from abroad that this developing trend has received impetus during the past week. Stalin's speech of February 9, whether or not he so intended, has the effect of adding fuel to these internecine flames. For the speech was an eloquent reassertion of the old line -- "capitalist imperialism is the cause of wars" -- which Stalin employed in the 1939-41 period, before Hitler attacked Russia. And it is part of the revival of the world-wide, all-out class warfare, by means of strikes, sabotage, etc., which has been a feature of the Communist International from its inception. It is a force that can hardly fail to draw more elements of the Democratic Left Wing into its wake. In short, the events of the past week sharpen the social tension which is the principal affliction of our "middle-of-the-road" President.

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The duel between our State Department and the Peron régime in Argentina has reached a serious stage. The latest shot was fired by the Department when it presented a Blue Book charging the Buenos Aires Government of "complicity" with Germany. Much of the evidence therein, say experts who have studied it, has already been made public through other channels. The Baltimore Sun notes this interesting angle: "Several of the documents quoted in the Blue Book contain passages suggesting a relationship between this Government's lend-lease program and Argentina's alleged 'complicity with the enemy'." Argentina apparently feared attack from the rising military power of Brazil, armed with lend-lease weapons. (HUMAN EVENTS, on March 8, 1944, was the first to point out how our lend-lease had drastically altered the previous stable military balance-of-power in South America.) Recent lend-lease reports disclose that out of approximately $246,000,000 sent to Latin America, about $160,000,000 went to Brazil. Argentina got none.

The Blue Book offers further evidence of the "cross-eyed" policy of our State Department in Latin America. It contains an indictment of the present Government of Bolivia not dissimilar from that lodged against Argentina. Yet, according to lend-lease reports, that Government has received over $2,000,000 worth of military goods from the United States.

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It is understood that Premier Mackenzie King of Canada recently paid an unpublicized visit to President Truman and gave the latter important data about the activities of the Russian Intelligence Service on this Continent. King had received the data from a Russian agent who gave himself up to the Canadian authorities and revealed extensive Russian espionage directed at various mines and lake systems in Canada. He also provided a list of names of Russian agents who had been planted in the Canadian and United States Governments -- in the latter case holding key positions in State, War and other Departments. It is further reported that the FBI has recently made four arrests of Russian spies.

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Serious anti-Jewish riots throughout the Arab world are expected to follow the publication (probably next July) of the report of the present Anglo-American investigation of the Palestine question, according to a trained American observer just returned from the Near East and North Africa. Political considerations being what they are, the British are likely to concede some measure of increased Jewish immigration into Palestine. Even if the quota is raised only 10 per cent, the reactions of the Arabs will presumably be bitter and violent. This observer says that on "Balfour Day" last November the authorities in Arab States had to take extraordinary precautions to prevent anti-Jewish outbreaks and that the sanguinary riot in Tripoli was but an example of what might have taken place in other parts of the Arab world but for the presence of armed forces.

The Arabs recently obtained some satisfaction when the British announced the independence of Transjordania (adjoining Palestine), a British mandate since the last war. This was an indication to the Arabs that the British would oppose any extension beyond Palestine of Jewish influence in the Near East.

Fear of Jewish expansion is perhaps the greatest factor in Arab opposition to further Jewish immigration into Palestine. This point, rarely mentioned in analyses of this situation, reveals how badly the Western case for the Jews is understood by the Arabs. The American observer quoted above says that the Arabs, pointing to the dearth of raw materials in Palestine, seem convinced that the whole Palestine venture is but a bridgehead of the West in their area, aimed at eventual domination of the riches of Near East oil.

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The vehement protests in Moscow, Warsaw and Belgrade against American and British employment of Poles and Yugoslavs as armed guards has aroused considerable speculation in various quarters. Some see in it evidence of weakness in Soviet-dominated Poland and in Yugoslavia. There have been increasing reports of civil dissension in those countries. It would be natural that these Governments should regard with suspicion the maintenance, in military formation, of large numbers of soldiers who refuse to return to their native lands and do not recognize these Governments as legal.

Also, this matter has stimulated further discussion among those circles in the Pentagon (see NMG, December 19, 1945) which have been interested in the problem of mercenary troops. The War Department now faces the probability that the peace-time conscription measure cannot pass Congress. Also, G-1 is reportedly pessimistic about the progress of voluntary recruiting. The men apparently prefer enlistment for a definite period in the Regular Army to an indefinite continuation of their drafted status. Thus, it is felt, if Congress ended the draft, voluntary recruiting on a considerable scale would also end. In view of this situation, these Pentagon circles are now examining seriously the possibility that mercenaries -- a "Foreign Legion" -- might prove the answer to the problem of maintaining our disintegrating Army.

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